

## Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00272 01 OF 02 292207Z

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05  
PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 TRSE-00 PC-05 EB-08  
OES-06 COME-00 FEA-01 /100 W

-----292219Z 113687 /62

O R 292030Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4908

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

USUN NEW YORK 1171

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0272

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

USIA FOR IOP/M

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, RH

SUBJ: KAUNDA SPEECH BEFORE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE

SUMMARY: IN A MEASURED, SOMETIMES EMOTIONAL, SOMETIMES HARD  
HITTING SPEECH BEFORE THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE JAN 29,  
PRESIDENT KAUNDA STATED THAT "ALL INITIATIVES TO ATTAIN AFRICA'S  
POLITICAL OBJECTIVES BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE FAILED" AND CALLED  
FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. HOWEVER, HE  
REAFFIRMED HIS COMMITMENT TO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS. THE  
BRITISH AND SMITH WERE BLAMED FOR THE BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS.  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00272 01 OF 02 292207Z

IN FACT THE BRITISH CALLED OFF GENEVA WITHOUT EVEN CONSULTING  
THE NATIONALISTS. THERE CAN BE NO AGREEMENT RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN  
PROBLEM WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.  
"THOSE ALLIES IN THE PEACEFUL STRATEGY WHICH LED TO GENEVA  
WILL NOT BE WITH US ON THE WAR PATH TO SALISBURY, BEGIN UNDERLINE  
BUT OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES CERTAINLY WILL BE." END UNDERLINE  
(OUR UNDERLINING). KAUNDA CALLED FOR BRITAIN AND THE US TO

APPLY FULLY SANCTIONS MANDATED AGAINST RHODESIA. US SHOULD REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT. OIL COMPANIES CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT IN A WAY WHICH PERMITS THE RHODESIANS TO "MASSACRE" THE POPULATION. NEW US ADMINISTRATION HAS STRUCK THE RIGHT POLITICAL LINE IN ITS APPROACH TO MAJORITY RULE. AS FOR NAMIBIA, ZAMBIA REJECTED ANY SOUTH AFRICAN ATTEMPT TO ANNEX ANY PART OF THAT COUNTRY, AND URGED INCREASED SUPPORT FOR SWAPO. APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA WAS HELD UP FOR CONDEMNATION. END SUMMARY

DELIVERED BEFORE A PACKED HALL AT THE OPENING OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE MEETING, KAUNDA'S SPEECH WAS MEASURED IN TONE, ESPECIALLY FOR SUCH AN OCCASION. HE BECAME EMOTIONAL AT SOME PARTS OF HIS SPEECH, PARTICULARLY WHEN HE TALKED OF THE MASSACRE OF RHODESIAN BLACKS BY THE "RACIST" REGIME.

PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE FAILED: MEETING OF THE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE CAME AT MOMENTOUS MOMENT IN HISTORY. "THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE MADE CLEAR DECISIONS TO WAGE TO VICTORY THEIR JUST STRUGGLE AGAINST THEIR OPPRESSORS. IT COMES AT A TIME WHEN ALL INITIATIVES TO ATTAIN AFRICA'S OBJECTIVES BY PEACEFUL MEANS HAVE FAILED." JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE BACKED BY OTHER WESTERN NATIONS HAS COLLAPSED. THE DANGERS OF A BLOODBATH HAVE NEVER BEEN WORSE. "THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS PERILOUS COURSE CANNOT REST WITH SMITH AND BRITAIN."

PROGRESSIVE FORCES BACK LIBERATION: "AFRICA IS THE SCENE OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN TWO ANTAGONISTIC AND IRRECONCILABLE FORCES REPRESENTED BY IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, RACISM UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00272 01 OF 02 292207Z

AND FASCISM ON ONE HAND AND THE JUST STRUGGLE OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES ON THE OTHER. THIS IS WHY AFRICA AND THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD BACK THE CAUSE OF THE OPPRESSED MILLIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA." AFRICA MUST KNOW THAT IN THE EVENT OF A REAL BLOODY RACIAL WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE WEST WILL NOT BE COUNTED ON THE SIDE OF THE OPPRESSED. WE WISH THEY WOULD, BUT HISTORY SHOWS THAT THEY WILL NOT. BEGIN UNDERLINE WE KNOW OUR ALLIES. END UNDERLINE (OUR UNDERLINING)

NEGOTIATIONS NOT EXCLUDED. "WE HAVE ALWAYS DECLARED OUR READINESS FOR MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE AFRICA'S OBJECTIVE. WE REAFFIRM THIS TODAY. BUT WE REAFFIRM THAT IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL, THEN WE SHALL ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVES BY ARMED STRUGGLE."

WHO CALLED OFF NEGOTIATIONS: ZAMBIA HAS DEMONSTRATED THAT IT ACCEPTS THE PRINCIPLE OF NEGOTIATIONS, BUT NOT NEGOTIATIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS SAKE. NEGOTIATIONS TO BUY TIME ARE UNACCEPTABLE. "MR. SMITH HAS BROKEN THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. FOR THEIR PART THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CALLED OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT

CONSULTING THE NATIONALISTS WHO WERE SUPPOSED TO BE PARTY TO THE CONFERENCE. WE HAVE NO REGRETS WHATSOEVER. FOR US GENEVA WAS ONLY AN EXTENSION OF THE LIBERATION WAR IN ZIMBABWE." SMITHS REJECTION OF JAN 24 IS A VOTE FOR THE ESCALATION OF THE WAR.

NO VIABLE SETTLEMENT WITHOUT PATRIOTIC FRONT. KAUNDA WARNED THAT NO AGREEMENT WILL END THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ITS FIGHTING FORCES. "AN ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE THE NATIONALISTS FORCES UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL END IN CIVIL WAR." THIS WILL BE THE CAUSE FOR A WHITE EXODUS WHICH NO ONE BUT SMITH IN HIS BULLHEADED APPROACH IS BRINGING ABOUT.

FRONTLINE RECOGNITION OF PATRIOTIC FRONT. FOUR REASONS LED TO THE RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT 1) FRONTLINE REALIZED THAT SMITH HAD NOT ACCEPTED MAJORITY RULE BY NEGOTIATION AND THAT WAR WOULD CONTINUE. SINCE THE ARMED FORCES OF THE PATRIOTIC

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 LUSAKA 00272 01 OF 02 292207Z

FRONT (ZIPA) WERE WAGING THE WAR, FRONTLINE HAD NO CHOICE BUT TO RECOGNIZE THOSE WHO HAD BROUGHT ON GENEVA AND WHO WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE WAGING WAR. 2) FRONTLINE RECOGNIZED THAT

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00272 02 OF 02 292214Z

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05  
PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 TRSE-00 PC-05 EB-08  
OES-06 COME-00 FEA-01 /100 W

-----292219Z 113704 /62

O R 292030Z JAN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4909

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
USUN NEW YORK 1172

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0272

FREE AFRICA MUST IDENTIFY ITSELF WITH THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING.  
3) RECOGNITION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS A CONCRETE EXPRESSION  
FO COMMITMENT TO THE UNITY OF ALL NATIONALIST FORCES ENGAGED  
IN THE LIBERATION WAR AGAINST SMITH. "FRONTLINE STATES UNDERSTAND  
THE DANGERS OF BUILDING MORE THAN ONE ARMY FOR ZIMBABWE."  
4) DECISION TO RECOGNIZE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS TAKEN IN FULL  
UNDERSTANDING THAT A POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE MUST  
BE BUILT UPON UNITY.

WHAT RECOGNITION OF THE FRONT DOES NOT MEAN: IT DOES NOT MEAN  
INTERFERENCE IN THE CHOICE OF LEADERS IN ZIMBABWE. "THE FIRST  
PRIORITY IS LIBERATION. WHEN LIBERATION IS ACHIEVED, THE  
ZIMBABWEANS CAN QUARREL ABOUT LEADERSHIP."

ALLIES AFTER GENEVA: KAUNDA SAID, "WE ARE AWARE, VERY KEENLY  
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00272 02 OF 02 292214Z

AWARE, THAT OUR ALLIES IN THE PEACEFUL STRATEGY WILL NOT BE WITH  
US ON THE WAR PATH. WE COOPERATED ON THE ROAD TO GENEVA. BUT  
THEY WILL NOT WORK WITH US ON THE UNBEATEN WAR PATH TO SALISBURY.  
OUR TRADITIONAL ALLIES WILL CERTAINLY AND INVARIABLY SUPPORT  
US ON THE PATH. WE APPEAL TO THEM TO INCREASE THEIR SUPPORT  
OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN ZIMBABWE" KAUNDA CALLED UPON ALL  
THOSE NATIONS WHO WORKED FOR GENEVA NOT TO OPPOSE THE WAR OF  
LIBERATION. THEY KNOW THAT SMITH IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE  
BREAKDOWN AT GENEVA; "LET THEM CONCENTRATE ON HIS REMOVAL FROM  
THE PATH OF NEGOTIATIONS."

CALL FOR SANCTIONS: KAUNDA CALLED PARTICULARLY ON BRITAIN AND  
THE UNITED STATES TO APPLY FULL AND COMPREHENSIVE SANCTIONS  
AGAINST THE "REBEL COLONY." HE NOTED THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION  
IN THE US HAS "STRUCK THE RIGHT NOTE IN THEIR POLITICAL LINE  
TOWARDS MINORITY REGIMES," HOWEVER, HE CALLED UPON CARTER  
ADMINISTRATION TO END AMERICAN IMPORT OF CHROME FROM RHODESIA.  
REVENUES RECEIVED FROM THE SALE OF CHROME ENABLE SMITH TO  
KILL THE INNOCENT MASSES. SANCTIONS MUST BE EXTENDED TO OIL  
SUPPLIES. HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF TONS OF OIL ARE REACHING  
RHODESIA CARRIED IN SHIPS OWNED BY VARIOUS COUNTRIES, INCLUDING  
"BRITAIN, AMERICA, FRANCE, JAPAN AND SO FORTH." BRITAIN'S PAST  
EFFORTS TO ENFORCE AN OIL EMBARGO WERE A CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED  
FARCE. "THE TIME HAS COME FOR THESE OIL COMPANIES SUPPLYING  
RHODESIA TO CHOOSE BETWEEN IAN SMITH AND CO-OPERATION WITH AFRICA."

NAMIBIA: AFRICA MUST INCREASE ITS SUPPORT FOR SWAPO'S STRUGGLE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA'S OCCUPATION OF THAT TERRITORY. SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS OBSTINATE; THEREFORE, AFRICA'S RESPONSE MUST BE BASED ON SWAPO'S ARMED STRUGGLE." "WE MUST REJECT IN TOTO ANY ATTEMPTS BY THE RACIST REGIME TO ANNEX ANY PART OF NAMIBIA. "THE TURNHALLE TALKS ARE A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO SIDE TRACK SWAPO AND INSTALL STOOGES IN A GOVERNMENT TO PRESERVE SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST AND TO HAVE NAMIBIA AS A BUFFER STATE."

APARTHEID: KAUNDA DESCRIBED APARTHEID AS AN AFFRONT TO AFRICA AND UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00272 02 OF 02 292214Z

RE-AFFIRMED HIS TOTAL COMMITMENT TO ITS ERADICATION. HE EXPRESSED HIS FAITH THAT, DESPITE ALL THE MEASURES OF OPPRESSION ALIGNED AGAINST THEM, THE 18 MILLION SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS WILL RISE" EVEN AGAINST THE DEADLIEST OF WEAPONS." SOWETO, LANGA AND OTHER TOWNSHIPS GAVE A FINAL SIGNAL THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAD ENTERED AN ERA OF REVOLUTION.Z

KAUNDA ENDED WITH A PLEA FOR SPEEDING UP THE WHOLE PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA. LOW

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, SPEECHES, SELFDETERMINATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 29-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977LUSAKA00272  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770033-0334  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** LUSAKA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t1977015/aaaaaage.tel  
**Line Count:** 250  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** f13171d9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 15-Sep-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3593387  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** KAUNDA SPEECH BEFORE OAU LIBERATION COMMITTEE SUMMARY: IN A MEASURED, SOMETIMES EMOTIONAL, SOMETIMES HARD HITTING SPEECH BEFORE THE OAU LIBERATION C OMMITTEE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, ZA, RH, OAU, (KAUNDA, KENNETH)  
**To:** STATE USIA  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/f13171d9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009